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V.—SOME REFERENCES TO SEASICKNESS IN THE GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS.

My interest in this somewhat forbidding subject dates back to the year 1896, when, while crossing the ocean, I read, in a little periodical published by the White Star line, the statement that no references to seasickness occur in the ancient writers, whence it was inferred that the complaint is purely a modern one. I have since tried to get a copy of this periodical, but I find that it is out of print.

Since one or two eminent philologists, to whom I spoke of the matter that summer, had no more information than I myself had, and since the handbooks and commentaries seem to be entirely silent on the subject, the references which I have since collected may be of some interest.

Probably the most familiar passage is that in Hor. Epist. I. 1. 93 *conducto navigio aequè nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis*. It is rather curious that no editor except myself cites a parallel passage in this connection—or indeed in connection with the other references to the subject in classical literature, so far as I know—or raises the question whether the complaint was a common one, as we might perhaps infer from this reference alone; though I must admit that I probably should not have done so if my attention had not been called to the matter in the way I have mentioned.

Horace apparently has another reference in Epod. 9. 35 *vel quod fluentem nauseam coerceat, metire nobis Caecubum*. Here many editors regard *nauseam* as referring to the effect of excessive potations, especially of the sweet Chian and Lesbian wines. I think, however, that the word means "seasickness", with a punning allusion, of course, to Horace's disgust at Antony's conduct. This interpretation may not, as some claim, be preferable to the other on grounds of decency in the case of a Roman poet, and one so little fastidious as Horace, but it seems more appropriate to the situation. The use of *nausea* in this double sense suits the reference to the sea; and on the other hand, immediately after calling for wine in large cups, to celebrate

the victory, Horace would not be likely to anticipate the effect on his stomach. Such thoughts arise more commonly on the following morning. But if Horace was subject to seasickness, he might well, when in the grasp of Neptune, regulate his beverages accordingly. I should translate the passage as follows: "Give me Chian or Lesbian in huge cups, or rather (since I am on the sea—in imagination or actually) pour me out Caecuban, to stay my rising qualms (of seasickness—disgust)".

That the subject is not mentioned in the Homeric poems cannot be taken as evidence that the people of those times were immune. It might be said that the subject is not one which would be likely to be mentioned in epic poetry. And yet, considering the story of Elpenor, in *Odyss.* X. 552-560, who fell into a drunken sleep on the roof of Circe's palace, and "forgetting in his mind to descend backwards, when he came to the long ladder", fell from the roof and broke his neck; or the realistic account of the throwing overboard of Menoetes by Gyas in *Aen.* V. 172-180; and various other incidents of the same kind; it does not seem impossible that in the lighter passages, and of the humbler personages, some mention of so vulgar a complaint might have been made with comic effect. But since, as we shall see, the humorous aspect of the complaint does not seem to have struck the ancients so forcibly as it does the moderns, the lack of references can hardly be regarded as significant.

With reference to the Homeric heroes, we have the jesting remark of Seneca, *Epist.* 53. 4 *illud scito, Ulixem non fuisse tam irato mari natum, ut ubique naufragia faceret: nausiator erat.* This seems unquestionably a reference to the proverbial seasick pilot mentioned below, who seems to have escaped the vigilance of our collectors of proverbs.¹

The fact that the earliest reference in Greek seems to occur in Aristophanes, and that the references as a whole are somewhat less numerous than those in Latin, may be because the seafaring Greeks were less subject to the malady than the Romans, or an evidence of better taste; or it may be purely accidental. I should reject the second hypothesis for the reasons already given, and the first seems improbable because such references as do occur are of a matter-of-fact nature, as if to a

¹ Otto, *A. L. L.* VI. 22, cites Sen. *Epist.* 85. 29 *tranquillo enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est.* Cf. Sutphen, *A Collection of Latin Proverbs*, p. 137.

common and well-known thing. Thus Arist. Rhet. III. 4. 3 ὁ Δημοσθένης τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι ὁμοίως ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ναυτιῶσιν. A reference which is clearly of a proverbial character occurs in Plato, Legg. 639 B χρηστὸς δὲ ἄρχων ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ἐν πλοίοις πότερον ἐὰν τὴν ναυτικὴν ἔχῃ ἐπιστήμην μόνον, ἢ τ' οὐκ ναυτιᾷ ἂν τε μή; . . . τί δ' ἄρχων στρατοπέδων ἢρ' ἐὰν τὴν πολεμικὴν ἔχῃ ἐπιστήμην, ἱκανὸς ἄρχειν, κἂν δειλὸς ᾖ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑπὸ μέθης τοῦ φόβου ναυτιᾷ; Closely parallel to the latter reference, and undoubtedly suggested by it, or by the same proverb, is the one in Sen. Epist. 108. 37 non magis mihi potest quisquam talis prodesse praeceptor, quam gubernator in tempestate nauseabundus . . . quid me potest adiuvare rector navigii attonitus et vomitans?

Seneca himself was subject to the malady, as appears from Epist. 53. 3 nausia me segnis haec et sine exitu torquebat, quae bilem movet nec effundit. To this annoying phase of the disorder Celsus refers from the physician's standpoint in I. 3, p. 17. 28 D. qui navigavit, et nausea pressus est . . . si sine vomitu nausea fuit, etc. Seneca's suffering was so great that he insisted on being put ashore, and more fortunate than some victims of modern times, he carried his point: institi ergo gubernatori et illum, vellet nollet, coegi petere litus.

In two other passages Seneca refers to seasickness as a thing to be expected: Epist. 53. 5 ut primum stomachum, quem scis non cum mari nausiam effugere, collegi . . . hoc coepi mecum cogitare; De Ira III. 37. 3 numquis se hieme algere miratur? Numquis in mari nausiare, in via concuti? It may have been this tendency on Seneca's part which led him to refer to the subject more often than any other ancient writer, although my own interest in the question was not aroused in that way. I have always been kindly treated by Neptune—o di immortales, avertite et detestamini, quaeso, hoc omen! If, as some modern experts believe, the seat of the trouble is the eye, Horace, who was *lippy*, may have been led by personal experience to refer to seasickness alone among Roman poets outside of comedy, so far as I have observed.

Nervous men, such as Seneca seems to have been, are said to be especially unhappy at sea, and we should expect Cicero, who was of the same temperament, to suffer in a similar way. An indication that he did is the fact that he mentions the subject several times, and once in such a way as to imply that he usually succumbed, while one passage convicts his friend Atticus of a

similar weakness. These references are: ad Att. V. 13. 1 *navigavimus sine timore et sine nausea*, apparently an unusual and noteworthy experience; ad Fam. XVI. 11. 1 (to Tiro) *festinare te nolo, ne nauseae molestiam suscipias aeger et periculose hieme naviges*; ad Att. V. 21. 3 *illa tua epistula, quam dedisti nauseans Buthroto*. It is possible that this tendency eventually hastened his end, for we read of him in Sen. Rhet. Suas. 6. 17 *unde aliquotiens in altum provectum cum modo venti adversi rettulissent, modo ipse iactationem navis, caeco volvente fluctu, pati non posset, taedium tandem eum et fugae et vitae cepit*.

Casual allusions are found in Caes. B. C. III. 28. 4 *tirones multitudine navium perterriti et salo nauseaeque confecti . . . se Otacilio dediderunt*; Bell. Afr. 34. 6 *legiones equitesque ex navibus egressos iubet ex languore nauseaeque reficere*; Suet. Calig. 23 *cum et Silanus impatientiam nauseae vitasset et molestiam navigandi*. Whether the reference in Liv. XXI. 26. 5 *necdum satis refectis ab iactatione marituma militibus*, is to seasickness, as Professor Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr, has suggested to me, or merely to the general discomforts of a rough voyage, is uncertain. The passages cited above from Caesar and from the Bell. Afr. certainly suggest that the Roman soldiers were troubled in that way, and *iactationem navis* in the passages cited from Sen. Rhet. is most naturally taken as including seasickness. *Iactatio navis* or *marituma* was doubtless a more comprehensive term, including knocking about, loss of sleep, and the like. *Iactatio* without a qualifying word is used by Cicero in this sense, where the meaning is clear from the context: Mur. 2. 4 *quo tandem me animo esse oportet prope iam ex magna iactatione terram videntem in hunc, cui video maximas rei publicae tempestates esse subeundas*. If these references are to seasickness, there may be others of a similar indirect nature, although I have run across but one. This is in Caes. B. C. III. 28. 5 and is but a few lines after the direct reference in B. C. III. 28. 4 which is cited above. It reads: *at veteranae legionis milites, item conflictati et tempestatis et sentinae vitiis, neque ex pristina virtute remittendum aliquid putaverunt, et . . . gubernatorem in terram navem eicere cogunt*. In Greek we have one in Alciphron, Epist. II. 4. 9, a passage to which my attention was called by Mr. Lee, of the Central High School, Philadelphia: *καὶ σφόδρα τῶν εὐθαλάσσιων γεγένημαι, εὖ οἶδα, καὶ ἐκκλωμένης κόπης ναυτίας ἐγὼ θεραπεύσω. θάλψω σου τὸ ἀσθενοῦν τῶν πελαγισμῶν*. In this passage *ναυτίας* is regarded

both by Jacobs and by Meineke as a gloss explanatory of τὸ ἀσθενεῖν τῶν πελαγισμῶν, which has found its way into the text, and this view seems to me to be correct, and to be demanded by the sense of the passage.

That animals, as well as men, sometimes suffered from seasickness is seen from Bell. Afr. 18. 4 cum . . . Caesaris equites iumenta ex nausea recenti, siti, languore, paucitate, vulneribus defatigata ad insequendum hostem perseverandumque cursum tardiora haberent. Fronto seems to imply that the trouble was more common in hot weather, although of course comparatively little voyaging was done in winter. He says, p. 15 N. hiemps est et crudum mare hibernum est: adesse non potuit. Ubi hiemps praeterierit, vernae tempestates incertae et dubiae moratae sunt. Ver exactum est: aestas est calida et sol navigantis urit et homo nauseat. Autumnus sequitur: poma culpabuntur et languor excusabitur.

As a cure for the disease, or rather as a preventive, Horace's prescription of a dry wine—if his reference is to seasickness, as I have no doubt it is—was probably a favorite one, as champagne is to-day. Decidedly less attractive, and doubtless less popular, was that proposed by Pliny, N. H. XXVII. 52 nauseas maris arceat in navigationibus potum absinthium.

Plato incidentally shows that, as is notoriously the case in modern times, the sufferers became wholly oblivious of external discomforts: see Theaet. 191 A εἰδὼν δὲ πάντῃ ἀπορήσωμεν, ταπεινωθέντες, οἶμαι, τῷ λόγῳ παρέξομεν ὡς ναυτιῶντες πατεῖν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι ὅτι ἂν βούληται. It has been observed that Plato here seems to follow Soph. Ajax 1142 ff., though the idea was probably a proverbial one. The words of Sophocles are as follows:

ἦδη ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ γλώσση θρασὺν
ναύτας ἐφορμήσαντα χειμῶνος τὸ πλεῖν,
ὃ φθέγμ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἦυρες ἡνίκ' ἐν κακῷ
χειμῶνος εἴχετ', ἀλλ' ὑφ' εἵματος κρυφείς
πατεῖν παρέιχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων.

Here and in Synesius, Epist. IV. p. 163 D, where we have a very similar passage: μεθήκεν ὁ κυβερνήτης τὸ πηδάλιον καὶ καταλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν πατεῖν παρέιχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων: there is no mention of seasickness, but the general symptoms seem to suggest it, as well as Plato's version. In Synesius, at least, and probably in all three passages, we clearly have another reference to the proverbially

inefficient seasick captain. *Navía* and its derivatives do not occur in the lexicons to Aeschylus and Sophocles, but this passage from the *Ajax* is perhaps evidence that reference to so unpoetic a thing is not impossible in the higher walks of literature.

To judge from the vast number of jests on seasickness in modern times, we should expect it to be made much of by the writers of comedy and satire; but the subject seems to have been taken somewhat more seriously in antiquity. In Greek I have found but one such reference—I must admit that my reading in Greek has not been extensive of late—and that of a rather casual nature. It occurs in Aristoph. *Thesm.* 882 ff.:

οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ ναυτιᾶς ἔτ', ὃ ξένε,
 ὅστις γ' ἀκούσας ὅτι τέθνηκε Πρωτέας
 ἔπειτ' ἐρωτᾶς, Ἐνδον ἔστ' ἢ ἑλώπιος;

In Latin the references are somewhat more numerous, though the subject cannot be said to have been done full justice. In Plaut. *Amph.* 329, *lassus sum hercle e navi, ut vectus huc sum: etiam nunc nauseo*, the remark seems of a casual nature, though it might have been given a comic effect by appropriate stage business. The reference in *Mer.* 388 appears to me to be more subtle: *in portum huc ut sum advectus, nescioqui animus mihi dolet. Nausea edepol factum credo: verum actutum abscesserit.* Here the allusion may be merely to the mental effect of the disorder to which Aristophanes refers; but I am inclined to see rather the same variety of joke as in the following passage from Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat*. ch. II: "If you were to stand at night by the seashore with Harris, and say: 'Hark! Do you not hear? Is it but the mermaids singing deep below the waving waters; or sad spirits chanting dirges for white corpses, held by seaweed', Harris would take you by the arm and say: 'I know what it is, old man; you've got a chill. Now, you come along with me. I know a place round the corner, where you can get a drop of the finest Scotch whiskey you ever tasted—put you right in less than no time.'" That is, Charinus says, 'my mind is troubled'. To which Demipho replies, 'Oh! that's seasickness: you'll soon be all right'. Somewhat similar is the jest in *Stichus* 749 *totus doleo. Potus? tantum miserior*, although here *totus* is purposely misunderstood as *potus*. Cf. *Most.* 375 *ego disperii. Bis peristi? qui potest?*

Festus, p. 166 Th. d. P. also cites Plautus in the *Artemo*, . . . lionum nauteam fecisset, which is expanded in the Forcellini-De Vit Lexicon into unguentum quod navibus mulionum nauteam fecisset (Müller in his edition of Festus has *naribus*). The other lexicons follow the Forcellini in giving *nauteam* in this passage the meaning of "seasickness", or "nausea", but since this would be the only example in Latin literature of the spelling *nautea* in this sense, and as Plautus himself elsewhere uses *nausea* and *nauseo* of seasickness, I believe that the word either means "bilge-water", or has the general meaning of an offensive odor which is derived from that signification; very likely the latter would best suit the connection with *muliones*, if the mutilated word in Festus is to be thus filled out, as seems probable enough. Plautus elsewhere uses *nautea* in the sense of "bilge-water" or something similar; the former meaning will suit all the passages in which the word occurs: cf. *Asin.* 894 *nauteam bibere malim . . . quam illam oscularier*; *Curc.* 100 *omnium unguentum odor prae tuo nautea est*; *Cas.* 1018 *ircus unctus nautea*.

In *Satire* we have the passage of Horace which was quoted at the beginning, while Petronius, in his romance, 103, gives us the most vivid picture of all ancient writers: *unus ex vectoribus, qui acclinatus lateri navis exonerabat stomachum nausea gravem, notavit sibi ad lunam tonsorem intempestivo inhaerentem ministerio, execratusque omen, quod imitaretur naufragorum ultimum votum, in cubile reiectus est. Nos dissimulata nauseantis devotione ad ordinem tristitiae redimus.*

The words *ναυρία*, *ναυσία*, with the corresponding Latin forms, seem to have received little attention from the phonologists. The original form in Greek was *ναυρία*, which in accordance with the well-known rule that τ in the middle of words before ϵ followed by another vowel becomes σ in all dialects, should become *ναυσία*. As a matter of fact, *ναυρία* and *ναυτιάω* occur in all the examples which I have found in Greek. Kretschmer, K. Z. XXX. 573 cites Ionic *ναυσίη*, and suggests that *ναυρία* is due to the analogy of *ναύτης* and *ναυτίλος*, and *ναυσίη* to that of **ναύσιος* in *ἐπιναύσιος* and *περιναύσιος*. This is a reasonable hypothesis, so far as *ναυρία* is concerned, though *ναυσίη*, which is not cited by the lexicons and is certainly rare, seems to need no justification. See also Smyth, *The Ionic Dialect*, p. 304.

Why the prevailing form in Latin, where the word is a loan-word, as is incidentally shown by the failure of the *s* to suffer

rhotacism, is *nausea*, does not seem to have been explained. *Nautea* also occurs, but in a different sense, except for the possible exception in Plaut. Artemo, which I do not regard as an exception. Paul. Fest. s. v. *nautea*, says: herba granis nigris qua coriarii utuntur, a nave ductum nomen, quia nauseam facit permutatione T in S. No other mention of this plant is found, and it seems to be an invention of the lexicographer; cf. Non. 8. 6 *nautea* est aqua de coriis, vel quod est verius, aqua de sentina, dicta a nautis. *Nautea*, "bilge-water", seems to have become a general term for any bad smell, such as that which is associated with the tanner's trade. Cf. Juv. XIV. 203 *ne credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter unguenta et corium*, and Mayor's note, who says that tanning and similar offensive trades were restricted to the Transtiberine region. The numerous derivatives in Latin, *nauseare*, *nauseator*, *nauseabundus*, *nauseabilis*, *nauseola*, to which corresponding forms are not found in Greek, always have *s*.

I would suggest that the forms *nautea* and *nausea* were both taken into Latin with a difference of meaning: both occur in Plautus and the latter only in Plautus, except in the lexicographers; while *sentina* occurs first in Cicero and his contemporaries. *Nautea* was displaced at an early period by *sentina*, and disappeared. The connection between the two meanings of *nautea* and *nausea*, and the loss of the former, are suggested by a passage in the Comment. Einsid. in Gramm. Lat. VIII. 214. 32. K. *inde nausea dicitur vomitus, qui fit propter sentinam*. Had *nautea* then been in use, it would have served better than *sentina* to show the derivation. The meaning of *nausea* was also extended to cover any kind of nausea, physical or mental, and from any cause. Though the derived meaning became more common than the original one, the example from Pliny which is cited above, is the only one I know of in which a qualifying word is used for definiteness; of course the sense of "seasickness" would usually be evident from the context, as indeed it is in the passage from Pliny. Pliny's expression is also unique in using the plural.

As regards the orthography of the Latin words, *nausea* should represent the high Latin, and *nausia* the low Latin form. Keller, Epileg. 383 regards *nauseam* as the spelling of the archetype in Hor. Epod. 9. 35, and he also reads *nauseat* in Epist. I. 1. 93 (a few inferior MSS have *nausiat*). In his note on the former

passage he cites *nausia* as a vulgar form in Petr. 64, but Bücheler reads *nausea* there (codex H has *nausia*) and in 103, where there seems to be no variant reading. *Nausea* is the form used in the standard editions in all the passages cited, including Plautus, the Bell. Afr., and Cicero's letters, except in Seneca. Haase reads *nausia*, *nausiare*, *nausiator*, and *nausiabundus*, and Hense, in his edition of the Epistulae, also reads the forms with *i*, except in 103. 37, where he has *nauseabundus*, which is changed to *nausiabundus* in codex B. Elsewhere I have found no variant readings, except in Plin. N. H. XXVII. 52, where codd. F and V have *nausia*. If the manuscript tradition is correct, it is difficult to understand why Seneca uses the forms with *i*. Considering the predominance of the spelling *nausea* in so many different writers, the preservation of *nauseabundus* and the change to *i* in one manuscript suggest that Seneca also used the forms in *e*, and that they were changed by the scribes. It is noteworthy that there is no example of confusion between *nausea* and *nautea*, a circumstance which adds to the probability of the suggestion made above, that the difference between these two words was not merely one of orthography, but of meaning.¹

JOHN C. ROLFE.

¹Since these notes left my hands, Professor E. B. Clapp, of the University of California, has called my attention to the passage in Plutarch, Aitia Physica, IA', where the question is discussed, Διὰ τί μᾶλλον ναυτιῶσι τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντες ἢ τοὺς ποταμούς, κἂν ἐν γαλήνῃ πλέωσι; Professor F. G. Moore, of Dartmouth, sent me one from Tac. Hist. I. 31 *invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos a Nerone Alexandriam praemissos atque inde reversos longa navigatione aegros impensiore cura Galba refoverat*. Here *longa navigatione aegros* would seem to be the effect of *iactatio maritima* doubtless including *nausea*. Another indirect reference which had escaped me is in Juv. VI. 98 ff.

At the last moment I have received from Professor G. D. Kellogg, of Williams, Diodorus Siculus IV. 47. 4 (with reference to the myth of Phrixos and Helle) διαπλεύσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ νεὼς προτομὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶρας ἐχούσης κριοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλην δυσφοροῦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ ναυτίᾳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τῆς νεὼς ἐκκίπτουσαν, εἰς τὴν θάλατταν προπεσεῖν.